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THE TABLET.——No. XIV.

"What injures the community, without directly appear-
"ing to hurt any individual, is very little thought
"of."

As the bulk of mankind do not ſeem to have a diſpoſition to give their ready and effectual co-operation in rendering the public revenue productive, and adequate to the object for which it is inſtituted, it would lead one to conclude, that no public utility was derived from the revenue; and conſequently, that men are under no obligations of juſtice for the payment of it. Thoſe, who draw this inference, will go on to obſerve, that the common ſenſe and apprehenſion of the great maſs of the people can never be oppoſed to any meaſure, that is juſt and uſeful; and that general conſent is the moſt infallible teſt, by which to form our notions of right and wrong. Whatever is built on the foundation of juſtice, muſt coincide with the common intereſts of men, and therefore will meet with general approbation and ſupport. On the other hand, whatever is generally diſliked and oppoſed, cannot have its origin in public utility, and has no juſt claim upon the property or ſervices of men, to promote its operation and ſucceſs.

Thoſe, who reaſon in this manner, have taken only a looſe, ſuperficial view of the ſubject. In many caſes, the common opinions and feelings of mankind, furniſh a good ſtandard of eſtimation, for the moral merit of actions. But we muſt not miſtake in our application of this principle; nor muſt we ſuppoſe, the public opinion *really is*, invariably, and in all inſtances, what it *appears to be*. The affairs of government are complicated, and the conduct of men, with reſpect to it, has a contradictory appearance. In the capacity of individuals, we feel an averſion to reſtraint, and a reluctance in making ſacrifices. When we act, not merely as individuals, but as members of a community, we feel a reſponſibility, in this collective character, which accommodates itſelf to the general welfare. The common reaſon of the lawmakers, while employed in the act of legiſlation, becomes the teſt of propriety; rather than the general temper of thoſe, over whom the law is to operate. If however, the good effect of the law is ſo obvious, that men in their private intercourſe with each other unavoidably diſcern it, they will acknowledge and applaud the juſtice of it. But the benefits of revenue laws are not immediately perceived by every individual; while the burdens are never concealed from the view of any one.

Nothing has been more common, than for almoſt every member of the community to complain of certain grievances, and to elect repreſentatives, who participate of that ſpirit of complaint, for the expreſs purpoſe of obtaining relief; and yet theſe ſame repreſentatives, upon a fair conſideration of the ſubject, have dropped their clamor, and even laid further impoſitions upon their conſtituents. This illuſtrates the idea, that people in their private capacity do not always perceive the utility, or allow the juſtice of a meaſure; merely becauſe they have not been in a ſituation to comprehend the reaſons, upon which it is founded.

When there is a general prevalence of a practice, that will be called unjuſt or vicious, by thoſe who view it upon the broad principles of juſtice and virtue, it argues that the inutility of ſuch injuſtice, or vice, is not obvious and immediate; but ſo remote and indirect, as to eſcape common obſervation. This is mentioned to prove, that public perception is not neceſſarily a teſt of the rules of juſtice. The partial honeſty of mankind is well repreſented, in a late number of the American Muſeum. I will purſue ſome of the ideas, that are ſuggeſted in that publication.

It is diverting to obſerve the diſtinctions, that ſome people practically make, with regard to their moral eſtimation of actions. Some men are ſcrupulouſly honeſt in certain points, while in others, where there is no juſt ground of difference, they throw of all reſtaints of truth and honeſty. They are countenanced in their narrow ſyſtem of morality, by the common conſent of their neighbors.

In the courſe of a journey, ſome time ſince, I paſſed a few hours at the ſtore of a country trader. While I was there, ſeveral of his cuſtomers came with waggon loads of grain. The trader directed the bags to be emptied into a granary, in a part of the ſtore occupied for that purpoſe. I obſerved him enquire of each man, the quantity he brought, and was ſo well ſatisfied with their information, as to take the grain off their hands, without the trouble of meaſuring it. This degree of confidence a little ſurpriſed me, and led me to aſk whether it was uſual to purchaſe articles, relying upon the word of the ſeller with reſpect to the quantity. The trader aſſured me, that he very ſeldom meaſured the grain, as it was brought to his ſtore; that in ſome few inſtances he had done it, but that he had not found any attempt to deceive him. Many of his cuſtomers, he obſerved to me, would highly reſent his ſcrupling their word in this matter; and that it was generally believed, no man in that neighbourhood would defraud another in the meaſure of grain. Soon after this converſation ended, a man, whoſe appearance was better than the other farmers, offered to ſell the trader an horſe. The latter had as great an inclination to buy, as the other had to ſell; but there ſeemed to be ſome difficulty in fixing the value of the horſe, and aſcertaining his age and qualities. The ſeller declared upon his honor that what he aſſerted was true; but the buyer doubted all his declarations. I took an opportunity of ſpeaking to the trader on the ſubject, and told him, that I imagined the perſon, who was about ſelling the horſe, did not live in the ſame part of the country with the honeſt grain-ſellers. The trader aſſured me that he lived in the midſt of them; that there was not a better man among them all; nor one, whoſe word he would ſooner take, in any matter that related to weight and meaſure. But, replied I, you do not ſeem to believe any thing he aſſerts reſpecting his horſe.—"True," ſaid he, "it is cuſtomary for people to take all the advantage they can in the ſale of an horſe, and to deceive the purchaſer as to his age and properties. The moſt honeſt men in the world do not ſcruple to impoſe on one another in this reſpect." From this anecdote I would infer, that the common feelings and practice of men are not always a certain criterion of the juſtice or utility of actions. As there are few men, who buy horſes, compared with thoſe who buy grain, the general convenience and ſafety of people do not require them to make a common cauſe of the deception, in both inſtances alike.

Another anecdote, not leſs applicable to the ſubject, may be introduced. I was once invited to paſs an evening, at the houſe of a gentleman, where there was to be a party at cards. Before the play commenced, my friend aſſured me, that I could depend on the utmoſt fairneſs in the game, and that each perſon would punctually pay his loſſes, on the ſpot. I found it exactly as was repreſented. In every inſtance, where I won money, it was readily paid; and I could obſerve no attempt or diſpoſition to play unfairly. At the cloſe of the evening, a gentleman, who had been more unfortunate than uſual, happened not to be in caſh to ſquare the board. He expreſſed great ſolicitude to pay his arrears; and addreſſing himſelf to the company, requeſted ſome one would be ſo obliging as to lend him a few guineas, declaring in the moſt ſolemn manner, it ſhould be reimburſed early the next morning. I did not heſitate to advance the ſum requeſted, being fully perſuaded that a perſon, who was ſo anxious to pay a demand, that accidentally lay againſt him by a run of ill luck, and ſo unwilling his honor ſhould ſuffer by a delinquency, would be no leſs exact in diſcharging a debt, which he had voluntarily contracted through the confidence and politeneſs of a ſtranger. The event, however, proved otherwiſe. In the morning, as I was getting ready to purſue my journey, I recollected the money I had lent; and deſired the landlord to inform me, where the borrower could be found. The landlord, with a pertneſs he had not before diſcovered, replied, "Mr.—— will not be out of his bed theſe two hours; have you any buſineſs with him?"—Nothing more, ſaid I, than to receive a little caſh of him. "If you wait till you get that," anſwered the landlord, "I would adviſe you to become an inhabitant of this place, and ſend for your family at once. It is a chance if you ever get a farthing of the money, as Mr.—— never pays any debts, he can avoid." But, continued I, you muſt be miſtaken in this man, he was very honorable in paying his loſſes at cards. "True," replied the landlord, "for the rules of the club forbid any man to go away in debt to the table. If he left any thing unpaid, he could no longer be a member of the club. Beſides, he is often fortunate and carries away money, and when he loſes, he can borrow of ſome perſon who is not acquainted with his character. Thoſe, who attend that gaming club, are honeſt with each other, but they pay no regard to juſtice, or veracity with any body elſe, only when they are in the club room." I was not however diſcouraged by this information from an attempt to get my money, and after importuning the landlord for ſome time, he permitted a negro boy to take a note from me to Mr.——. The boy himſelf was ſo well convinced that his errand was in vain, that he could not refrain from waggiſh capers. He ſoon returned, and informed that Mr. —— had told his ſervants, that he was not to be ſeen till twelve o'clock.

I do not mention theſe anecdotes as ſingular inſtances of the partial view and practice of men, in accommodating their ideas of right and wrong to their particular ſituation and convenience.—Wherever we look, we find repeated and melancholy confirmations of the imperfection of prevailing principles, and the perverſeneſs of authorized habits. All clubs, or ſocieties, how unimportant or immoral ſoever they may be, have certain rules of honor and equity among themſelves. Theſe are few or many, limited or extenſive, in proportion as the objects are ſo, which are to be accompliſhed by the aſſociation. It is to be regretted that men, who are greatly attached to any particular ſect or party, are apt to forget the duties they owe the community at large, and confine their acts of uſefulneſs and their diſplay of virtues within narrow limits. "Robbers and Pirates, it has often been remarked, could not maintain their pernicious confederacy, did they not eſtabliſh a new diſtributive juſtice among themſelves, and recall thoſe laws of equity, which they have violated with the reſt of mankind."

I have been thus diffuſive, and thrown the ſubject into ſuch different lights, that I might make it fully evident there are various inſtances in which, our ſentiments of duty are not co-extenſive with the objects of it. There is no caſe, that I have ſpecified, in which our ideas of obligation are more erroneous and deficient, than thoſe, which relate to a diſcharge of the demands, that are laid upon us by the revenue laws. Our inventive faculty is artfully diſplayed in finding excuſes to juſtify actions, that are committed through the impulſes of intereſt or paſſion.

If the principles of this diſcuſſion are juſt, they will impreſs on the minds of virtuous citizens, the importance of ſetting ſuch examples and diffuſing ſuch maxims, as will convince the bulk of the people, that their duty and their honor are concerned in a punctual payment of the public taxes, in whatever form they are impoſed. They will likewiſe contribute to convince men at the helm of affairs, that in order to obtain the concurrence of their conſtituents, in ſupporting the execution of the laws, the public adminiſtration ſhould be marked with no act, that is capricious, oppreſſive, or unneceſſary. In addition to cauſes of a permanent nature, that induce men to doubt the utility or the juſtice of revenue laws, there are often adventitious circumſtances that alienate the affections of people from the meaſures of government. Of this deſcription, are extravagant or uſeleſs appropriations; injudicious or ſupernumerary appointments of officers; neglectful, diſhoneſt or overbearing conduct in thoſe, who are ſcattered through the different branches of the executive department.

A SKETCH OF THE POLITICAL STATE OF AMERICA.

[Continued from No. X.]

It is with nations as with individuals, that the firſt footſteps generally mark their future progreſs. This reflection, ſtrongly evinces the neceſſity of commencing our political courſe, on proper and well eſtabliſhed principles, and of moulding ourſelves into that form, which promiſes the greateſt future ſtrength and vigour.—There are certain general principles of a moral kind, immutable in their nature, and invariable in their effects: the practice of which will ever tend to the happineſs of a nation wherever and however ſituated; but in recurring (as is frequently the caſe) to the practices of other nations, for light and information upon the various ſubjects of government, and the grounds on which to form our plans of adminiſtration, without adverting to a proper diſtinction of thoſe circumſtances which form the political character, as local ſituation, education, manners and cuſtoms, religious tenets, ideas of government and national genius, we may be often led to a falſe deduction of principles as applied to our own country.—Roman virtue, and Athenian republicaniſm, have been repeatedly urged as models highly worthy our imitation; while, had we implicitly adhered to the maxims of the former, a WASHINGTON muſt have ſhared the fate of Camillus, becauſe he had ſaved his country; and in compliance with the principles of the latter, an ADAMS, like Ariſtides, muſt have been baniſhed for having deſerved too well of his fellow-citizens: what leſs than a radical defect in the principles of thoſe antient governments, could have led to ſuch great errors in their practices? but as far as theſe or like errors in antient or modern governments, can be avoided by a judicious compariſon, an illuſion to them will be attended with material benefit; while their virtues may alſo be ſelected with care. America is yet unſkilled in thoſe intrigues of policy, which ſo warmly engage all Europe, and many other parts of the world, and being by nature happily ſituated at a diſtance from them, it muſt be officiouſneſs alone, which can lead her into any material concern with

their politics—her own at preſent demand a monopoly of her attention and ingenuity; but as far as ſhe can make her commerce with foreign nations ſubſervient to her intereſt, ſound poli cy prompts the connection.

The preſent government of the United States, deſervedly poſſeſſes an extenſive ſhare of the confidence of the people—it remains now for thoſe who are to adminiſter it, to complete that confidence, by the purſuit of thoſe meaſures, which ſhall tend to eſtabliſh the beſt intereſts of the nation, on a permanent baſis: and here let me indulge the wiſh, that they would diveſt themſelves of thoſe local prejudices, and partial or ſtate views, which have already brought this country to the verge of ruin; and fondly cheriſh national ideas, and national principles—which will alone lead to the great objects for which they were conſtituted.—No one will pretend to deny, that on a firm and complete union, the future happineſs of America is ſuſpended: a fear to exerciſe, in a full conſtitutional latitude, the powers veſted in the general government, may be attended with unfavorable conſequences; and perhaps it were better thoſe powers had never been deputed, than that they ſhould not be exerciſed when neceſſary—as the community will be proportionably diſappointed, in not realizing thoſe advantages, to obtain which they have expreſsly delegated the beforementioned authorities, and thoſe defects which reſult from the adminiſtration, will be ſuppoſed to exiſt in the principles of the ſyſtem.—The firſt impreſſions are commonly the moſt pervious and laſting, and if timidity ſhould characteriſe the early proceedings of the national government, it will be difficult to determine, at what future period the proper energy and neceſſary deciſion, appertaining to all good governments, will commence, and it would evidently beſpeak a diffidence in our rulers of the rectitude and propriety of that inſtitution, which we have looked to as our ark of ſafety; tenacious of the opportunity; faction would be likely again to rear its hydra head, and once more hope for a riotous diſplay of its power. Theſe are among the many evils which might ariſe to deſtroy our promiſed happineſs at home—but here they do not end.—Will not our boaſted hope of reſpectability and importance, with the reſt of the world, vaniſh? and will not foreign nations be yet fearful of entering into any negociations with us; neceſſarily diſtruſting our reſponſibility, while they find us incompetent to our internal government? A wiſh to diſcloſe the evils which muſt reſult from an inefficient adminiſtration—rather than the expectation of ſeeing them realized, has led to the foregoing obſervations. AMERICANUS.

(To be continued.)

EXTRACT FROM "AMERICAN ESSAYS."

On COMMERCE.———[*Continuation.*]

AN extenſive and flouriſhing Commerce, will alſo, ſooner or later, beget *colonization*, and therefore naturally induces ſome obſervations on that ſubject, in which, from its intimate and important connection with commerce, the United States cannot but conſider themſelves deeply intereſted.

The Colonies of ſeveral of the now flouriſhing European kingdoms, may be fairly allowed at this day, to be the almoſt ſole ſupport of their commerce, and the moſt certain, and moſt fruitful, if not the only ſource, of their riches and ſtrength: Some of them are ſo largely indebted to their foreign dominions, for their preſent power, riches, and conſequence, that no other ſatisfactory cauſe, or reaſon, can be aſſigned, or conceived, why they have not long ere now, become the moſt inſignificant provinces of their more powerful neighbours. The whole amount of the cuſtoms in England, even ſo late as in the beginning of the reign of Elizabeth, did not exceed the ſum of 40,000l. *per annum*, ſterling—Germany, France, Spain, and Portugal, ſupplied the Engliſh with every luxury, and with almoſt every neceſſary manufacture; and the Venetians and Genoeſe, with Eaſt-India goods, at an immenſe price; the legal intereſt of money was 10 *per cent.*—and when compared with ſome other European States, whom they now hold in contempt, the Engliſh may be ſaid, with reſpect to many improvements, to have been at that era, in a ſtate of infancy or barbarity; but as ſoon as they became ſenſible of the importance of Colonies, and wiſely turned their attention to eſtabliſh and encourage them, they began, from that period, to emerge from obſcurity, and rapidly to increaſe in riches and power, till they rivalled every nation on the globe, in maritime ſtrength, extent of commerce, and variety and perfection of manufactures; and *London* is now juſtly conſidered, *the world's great mart*; and though ſome of the Britiſh Colonies owe their origin to the folly, or frenzy, and were peopled againſt the will of the mother country, yet they were no ſooner eſtabliſhed, than they became a conſtant ſource of her riches, and increaſe of power: If it ſhould be aſked, why the Engliſh have ſo ſoon rivalled thoſe nations, who were not only poſſeſſed of, but greatly enriched by their Colonies, before thoſe of the Britiſh were planted; I anſwer—that one probable, and perhaps principal cauſe, that may be aſſigned, appears to me to be the prevailing religion of that country, which circumſtance alone, indiſputably gives them many temporal advantages over thoſe countries profeſſing the Roman Catholic religion, where religious duties engroſs a larger ſhare of the people's time: it has even been obſerved, by the liberal profeſſors of that religion, that frequent avocations, and *holy-days*, naturally lead to idle habits, and an averſion to labour, very perceptible in all Roman Catholic countries. In ſome of the Cantons of Switzerland, nature has been rather ſparing of her favors to the ſoil; yet where the inhabitants are principally Calviniſts, it has been obſerved, that trade, agriculture, and manufactures, flouriſh much more than in thoſe that are chiefly inhabited by Roman Catholics, even where nature *has been far more bountiful*.—Various are the chronological accounts of ancient times and nations; and though it is here of no great importance to be very accurate with reſpect to dates, yet it may be fairly allowed, that nine hundred years at leaſt have rolled away, ſince Scotland was united under one Monarch; which long period had produced no material commercial improvements, or increaſe of wealth, or power, in that country, till a few years ſince, not far exceeding half a century, when the Scotch wiſely began to profit of their union with England, by a participation in the commerce with the Britiſh Colonies: From this memorable epoch, the increaſe of their trade and manufactures has been ſo aſtoniſhingly great and rapid, that they are now become of vaſt importance to the commercial world, and have excited ſuch a national ſpirit of agricultural improvements, that vaſt tracts of barren country, which for time immemorial had remained totally uſeleſs, being deemed incapable of cultivation, have, by the help of art, induſtry, and increaſe of wealth, *the fruits of commerce*, been transformed into fruitful fields; and where,

"Far as the eye could reach, no tree was ſeen;
"Earth, clad in ruſſet, ſcorn'd the lively green."

Villa's, and villages, and Groves, are ſpread; and roſy health, and jocund plenty reign, where meagre famine, for ages, held her ſolitary court, and ſeemed to claim a natural and excluſive right.

E. C.

(To be continued.)

SCANDAL——FROM HAYLEY.

SCANDAL, a reſtleſs fiend, who never know,
The balmy bleſſing of an hour's repoſe,
Worn, yet unfated with her daily toil,
In her baſe work conſumes the midnight oil.
O'er fiercer fiends when heavy ſlumbers creep,
When wearied avarice and ambition ſleep,
Scandal is vigilant, and keen to ſpread
The plagues that ſpring from her prolific head.
On Truth's fair baſis ſhe her falſehood builds,
With tinſel ſentiment its ſurface gilds;
To nightly labour from their dark abodes
The demons of the groaning preſs ſhe goads,
And ſmiles to ſee their rapid art ſupply
Ten thouſand wings to every infant lie.

SKETCH of PROCEEDINGS of CONGRESS.

In the HOUSE *of* REPRESENTATIVES *of the* UNITED STATES.

WEDNESDAY, MAY 27, 1789.

AGREEABLY to the order of the day, the Houſe went into a committee of the whole on the tonnage bill.

It was moved by Mr. THATCHER, that the enacting clauſe, "The Congreſs of the United States" ſhould be ſtruck out—and "The Senate and Houſe of Repreſentatives of the United States, in Congreſs aſſembled" ſubſtituted.—This motion after ſome diſcuſſion was loſt.

A meſſage was received from the Senate, informing, that they had appointed a committee to join with a committee of the Houſe, to determine and report a mode of receiving meſſages from THE PRESIDENT.

A motion was made to inſert in the Tonnage Bill a clauſe, by which all veſſels, not built in the United States, which may become the property of the citizens thereof, ſhall be ſubject to an impoſt of 50 cents:—This paſſed in the affirmative.

A motion was made to limit the duration of this bill, which was debated and finally loſt.

A clauſe was added, providing for its commencement the 15th of June, next.

Mr. FITZSIMONS, from the committee appointed to bring in a bill for the *collection* of the Revenue, reported a draught, which was read for the firſt time. *Adjourned.*

THURSDAY, May 28.

Mr. SCOTT moved, that the Houſe now reſolve itſelf into a committee of the whole on the ſtate of the Union—to take into conſideration the ſubject of the Land Office—when, he obſerved, he ſhould ſubmit certain reſolutions to the conſideration of the committee.

Several members obſerving that this motion would interfere with the Order of the day, and might, in its diſcuſſion, ſupercede other important buſineſs immediately before the Houſe—the Order of the day was called for, and taken up, by reading the Tonnage Bill, with the ſeveral amendments and alterations agreed to in committee; theſe alterations were adopted by the Houſe, and the bill ordered to be engroſſed, for a third reading.

The Houſe then reſolved itſelf into a committee of the whole, on the motion of Mr. Scott.

Mr. SCOTT obſerved, that the ſtate of the Federal Treaſury was ſuch, as made it neceſſary, that ſomething ſhould ſpeedily be done with reſpect to diſpoſing of the Weſtern Territory: The ſtate of a certain contract for a very large ſale, through the incompleteneſs of the ſurveys, and other cauſes, by which payment had been delayed of a million of dollars into the public cheſt, while the intereſt on ſo much of the debt was accumulating, was another reaſon for ſome immediate ſteps being taken with regard to that property.—It was rendered neceſſary by the nature of the plans which had been adopted in the ſales heretofore made—Thoſe lands had been diſpoſed of in too large quantities—to the greatly impeding their ſettlement:—This had operated to diſcourage great numbers who had moved off, towards the Weſtern Waters—Upwards of 7000 ſouls, except relieved by ſome favorable regulations, which ſhould prevent the engroſſing ſuch immenſe tracts by individuals, would ſhortly be loſt to the United States—They will either throw themſelves into the Spaniſh government, and become their ſubjects—or they will combine, and give themſelves poſſeſſion of that territory (which they are now willing to purchaſe) and defend themſelves in it againſt the power of the union.

Mr. SCOTT further informed the Houſe, that overtures had been made to theſe people by other powers, to his certain knowledge, and great encouragement promiſed, provided they would put themſelves under their juriſdiction: This, he conceived, would be a very unhappy circumſtance for the United States: Such enemies in the heart of our country, would be more dangerous than any foreign power:—All theſe embarraſments and difficulties ariſe from their not being able to purchaſe lands in ſmall quantities: It never could be the intention of Congreſs, that this ſhould be the caſe: Million-acre purchaſers are but few—and the preſent mode, if adhered to, will be attended with fatal conſequences: Congreſs now has it in their power to obviate every difficulty: Theſe people aſk their protection: They will, if protected and encouraged, be obedient and loyal ſubjects—they wiſh for a Conſtitution, Laws, and Government; but if neglected, they will be loſt to the States.—Theſe things plainly point out the neceſſity of a new arrangement, and of eſtabliſhing a Land Office in that country—for it will be impoſſible for the people in thoſe remote regions to travel a great diſtance to tranſact their buſineſs.

Mr. SCOTT then read a reſolution to this effect, That it is the ſenſe of this committee that an act of Congreſs ought to paſs, eſtabliſhing and regulating a LAND OFFICE, for the ſale of vacant and unappropriated lands in the Weſtern Territory. This was followed by ſeveral others, exhibiting the outlines of a Bill for the purpoſe.

Mr. BOUDINOT objected to the reſolve, ſo far as it confined the idea to the inſtitution of a Land-Office—he moved therefore, that the words "Land-Office" be ſtruck out—that the committee might take up the buſineſs upon the moſt extenſive ſcale:—He obſerved, that limiting them to this ſimple idea, might interfere with former arrangements, which it would be extremely difficult to alter;—the eſtabliſhment alſo of ſuch an office, may be rendered entirely ſuperfluous, in as much as the conducting of this buſineſs, might with the utmoſt propriety come under the cognizance of one of the three great departments, already eſtabliſhed.

Mr. VINING ſupported the idea of a Land-Office; and adverting to the obſervations which had fallen from Mr. Scott, ſaid, that it appeared to him, that the exigencies of the caſe were ſuch as would admit of no delay: That ſuch an inſtitution was highly neceſſary—and the only one that held out a proſpect of ſeaſonable and adequate relief.

Mr. CLYMER obſerved, that the ſubject before the committee was very intricate and extenſive—that it would require a very elaborate diſcuſſion to form a competent ſyſtem—much more ſo, than the committee was then prepared to inveſtigate—He queried the propriety of taking meaſures to diſpoſe of the lands in ſmall quantities, as it would interfere with the ſales already made under the ordinances of Congreſs.—He moved, therefore, that the committee ſhould riſe.—The motion for riſing was ſeconded.

Mr. MADISON obſerved, that he was not oppoſed to the riſing of the committee, but rather in favor of it, that time might be given to obtain more accurate information; but as Mr. Scott had given the committee very important intelligence, which no doubt reſpected facts, and of a very ſerious import, he ſuggeſted the propriety of paying the earlieſt attention to the buſineſs.

The committee then roſe—and the Speaker reſumed the chair.

It was then moved, that a ſelect committee be now appointed, to enquire into the ſtate of the unappropriated lands in the Weſtern Territory, and to report what ſteps are neceſſary to be taken for the ſale of thoſe lands.

This motion was oppoſed upon various grounds: Some conſidered it as an expedient to get rid of the buſineſs; others contended that it entered into the deciſion of a queſtion, as to the ſale of the lands, which the committee were in no meaſure ſufficiently informed to determine—The motion after conſiderable diſcuſſion, was divided, and the latter clauſe, negatived.—A committee was then appointed agreeably to the firſt part, conſiſting of Mr. SCOTT, Mr. HUNTINGDON, and Mr. SHERMAN.

Mr. HEISTER introduced a reſolve to the following effect, That every ſuch member of this preſent Congreſs as is not furniſhed with the journals of the late Congreſs, upon application to the keeper of the records, be furniſhed with a complete ſet of ſuch journals.

This reſolve was adopted unanimouſly.

Mr. SENEY then moved, that the report of the joint committee upon the ſubject of news-papers, and printing, which had lain ſeveral days on the table, ſhould be taken up.

This report being read, the firſt part which provides for ſupplying every member of Congreſs with "one news-paper" at the public expence; was objected to—a variety of obſervations were made, and the clauſe finally rejected—the latter part reſpecting the public printing, and giving power to the Clerk of the Houſe, and Secretary of the Senate, to form the neceſſary contract, was adopted, and then the Houſe adjourned.

FRIDAY, MAY 29.

The engroſſed bill, impoſing a duty on tonnage, was read the third time—and paſſed.

Mr. PARTRIDGE, from the committee appointed to confer with the Senate, on a proper mode of receiving bills and meſſages from the Preſident, reported—That until the public offices are eſtabliſhed, and proper officers appointed, meſſages or bills may be received by either Houſe, under cover, directed to the Preſident of the Senate, or the Speaker of the Houſe of Repreſentatives.—This report, with ſome amendments, was accepted.

A motion was then made, that the bill regulating the collection of the revenue, ſhould be conſidered in a committee of the whole, on Monday next.—This paſſed in the affirmative.

Mr. WHITE introduced an amendment of the rule of the Houſe, reſpecting the appointment of committees by ballot—It was propoſed, that all committees ſhould be appointed by the Speaker, except when the Houſe ſhould order otherwiſe.

This was objected to by divers members—and advocated by others:—Several modifications were propoſed, as expedients to get rid of the mode of balloting, which was conſidered as tedious, and occaſioning unneceſſary loſs of time;—but after ſome ſpirited obſervations on both ſides the queſtion, Mr. WHITE's motion, with every qualification of it, was loſt by a large majority—and the rule of the Houſe remains as it originally ſtood.——*Adjourned until Monday next.*

[The following Selection of MISCELLANEOUS INTELLIGENCE, from *European* and *American* papers, compriſes the whole, that our limits will permit us to inſert this day.]

EAST-INDIES.

At Delhi, a revolution was effected in September, by the Rohilla Confederates, aided by one of their moſt daring Chiefs, Gholan Kadar Cawn, taking advantage of Madajee Scindia's remiſſneſs, in neglecting to ſtation a proper number of troops round the city.

The conſequences were truly terrible to the unfortunate old King, whoſe eyes the inhuman Chief deprived him of, putting the robes of royalty at the ſame time on one of his creatures, Ackmed Shaw.

Scindia did not long leave the tyrant in poſſeſſion of Delhi; he very ſhortly gained, not only a compleat victory over the Rohillas, but poſſeſſion of the city. The modern Bajazet, Gholan Kadar Cawn, ſaved himſelf by an ignominious and rapid flight.

The Mahrattah Chief, Scindia, in conſequence of this victory, it is thought, will regain his wonted influence in the Upper Provinces, and the miſerable eyeleſs Monarch of Delhi once more be reſtored to his throne and regal power.

The young Prince of Delhi, Johander Shaw, lived not to behold his Royal Father's miſeries; he fell a victim in June, to the warmth of the climate, having over-heated himſelf in a pious excurſion to Chunar.

LONDON, *March* 31. Government have reſolved to purſue the plan they laid down ſome time ſince, in reſpect to the Governors of the different ſettlements in India; who are to reſide only a certain time, the ſame as is cuſtomary with the Viceroys of Ireland. This ſyſtem of peculation, ſo long unhappily purſued in that part of the globe, is, by this ſtep alone, compleatly done away.

WARREN HASTINGS, Eſq.

The Houſe of Lords ſent a meſſage by the Maſters in Chancery, to the Commons, informing them of their determination to proceed in the trial of Warren Haſtings, on Tueſday the 21ſt of April. [*Mr. Haſtings has preſented a moſt ingenious and affecting petition to the Houſe of Lords, praying that his trial may be proceeded in, and finiſhed, without any future interruptions.*]

Extract of a letter from Madrid, February 13.

"The following is the preſent ſtate of the kingdom: The number of the inhabitants 10 millions and a half; our military forces conſiſt of 74,779 infantry, 18,360 cavalry, and 10,208 guards belonging to the King's houſhold, excluſive of thirty-three battallions of militia 62 companies of invalids, and ſome companies called Micheletts. Our marine forces are compoſed of 72 ſhips of the line, viz. nine of 112, one of 110, three of 94, eight of 08, forty-two of 74, ſeven of 68, and two 64 guns, with forty-ſix frigates, ſixteen zebecks, &c. in all 238 ſhips of war, which together carry 8984 guns, and they are ſtill building a large number, at Cadiz, Carthagena and Ferroll. The revenues of the crown amount to 30 millions of piaſtres.

The accidental omiſſion of a number in the drawing of the late Iriſh lottery, is like to be productive of very ſerious conſequences: The number, it appears, was not put into the wheel. The firſt legal authorities in that kingdom have been conſulted, and the leading opinion amongſt them is, that the lottery ſhould be drawn over again. The confuſion attendant on ſuch a meaſure, it is much more eaſy to imagine than deſcribe.

April 2. The backwardneſs of the preſent ſpring, is likely to be productive of the worſt conſequences to the northern parts of this iſland. The eaſtern coaſt of Scotland, is at this moment covered with ſnow, and the uſual tillage cannot take place for ſome time; a late ſeed time, always occaſions in that country a late, and from the ſhortneſs of the ſummer, a ſcanty harveſt.

A negociation, it is ſaid, has for ſome time paſt been on the tapis in London, for the exchange of Canada with France, for the iſlands of Guadaloupe and Marie Gallante in the Weſt-Indies. Various opinions are formed reſpecting the expediency and advantages that may accrue to Great-Britain by this exchange.

INTELLIGENCE FROM FRANCE.

TRANSLATED FROM THE COURIER DE LONDRES.

FEBRUARY 25, 1789. THE three *orders* of the Provinces of Saintonge and Angoumoin, being met in general aſſembly, the clergy and nobility have unanimouſly voted to renounce all pecuniary privileges in taxation, and to bear any public expences in common with the *third eſtate*. As to the manner of voting in the States-General (*per capita*, or by *order*) the opinions were divided; and it was reſolved to ſubmit, in this point, to the deciſion of his Majeſty.

The following reſolution deſerves to be noticed:—

"The Nobility of Rouſſillon, duly aſſembled, conſidering that its members are *men* and *citizens* before they are *Nobles*, and being deſirous to give to their *fellow-citizens*, of the *third eſtate*, a convincing proof of their diſpoſitions to cement the union between all orders—have unanimouſly agreed on the ſolemn reſolution to pay, on the principles of a perfect equality, and each of them in proportion to their fortune, the impoſts and general contributions of the province, without any pecuniary exemption; reſerving to themſelves only the ſacred rights of property, and thoſe diſtinctions which are neceſſary in a monarchy, in order to ſupport the rights and liberties of the people, the reſpect due to the Sovereign, and the authority of the laws."

We may form an idea of the principles upon which the States-General of France will eſtabliſh their firſt deliberations, from the following extract of the public inſtructions, given by the Duke of Orleans to his Repreſentatives.

1. Individual liberty. No man ſhall be impriſoned but by the ordinary courſe of law. It ſhall be death for any perſon to arreſt, or cauſe to be arreſted, any citizen without the interference of his natural judge.

2. The liberty of the preſs, conſidered as a part of individual liberty; with ſuch reſtrictions, however, as the States-General ſhall think proper.

3. Property ſhall be ſacred, and no man deprived of it, even for the public good, without a ſufficient compenſation.

4. No tax or impoſt ſhall be levied without the ſpecial conſent of the States-General of the nation; the grant of ſuch tax or impoſt ſhall be limited to the time of the next meeting of the States, ſo that, if no ſuch meeting takes place, the ſaid tax or impoſt ſhall not be continued.

5. The periodical meeting of the States-General to be fixed on ſhort terms.

6. The Miniſters ſhall be reſponſible to the Statees in all matters relative to the finances, and to the laws of the country.

7. The public debt ſhall be conſolidated.

8. The tax ſhall be laid equally on every citizen of the kingdom.

9. No impoſt ſhall be granted, until all the meaſures, relative to public and private liberty, ſhall have been agreed upon.

AMERICA.

BALTIMORE, MAY 22. The amiable LADY of our beloved PRESIDENT arrived in this place on Tueſday Evening, and ſet out early next morning for New-York. She was met at Hammond's ferry by ſeveral of our citizens, and received by ſuch other demonſtrations of affection and reſpect as her ſhort ſtay admitted. Fire-works were diſcharged before and after ſupper, and ſhe was ſerenaded by an excellent band of Muſic, conducted by gentlemen of the town. We ſhall only add, that, like her illuſtrious huſband, ſhe was cloathed in the manufacture of our country, in which her native goodneſs and patriotiſm appeared to the greateſt advantage.

PHILADELPHIA, MAY 26. Intelligence being received on Thurſday laſt, by an expreſs appointed for that purpoſe, that the Conſort of our illuſtrious Preſident was on her way from Mount-Vernon to New-York, and would breakfaſt at Cheſter next morning—the two city troops of light-dragoons paraded early on Friday, and marched to form her eſcort. His Excellency the Preſident of the State, and the Hon. the Speaker of the Aſſembly, attended by a numerous ſuite of gentlemen on horſeback, preceded the troops—and the whole halting ten miles from the city, waited the approach of this much-reſpected Perſonage. While they paid the compliment of military honors due to her exalted rank, they offered a ſtill more grateful tribute of heartfelt regard to the amiable virtues, which diſtinguiſh and adorn her character. The preſent occaſion recalled the remembrance of thoſe intereſting ſcenes, in which, by her preſence, ſhe contributed to relieve the cares of our beloved Chief, and to ſoothe the anxious moments of his military concern—gratitude marked the recollection, and every countenance beſpoke the feelings of affectionate reſpect.

Seven miles from the city ſhe was met by a brilliant company of ladies, in carriages, who attended her to Gray's Ferry, on Schuylkill, where an elegant entertainment of upwards of one hundred covers was prepared at a few hours notice. The repaſt being finiſhed, the proceſſion was recommenced; and the corps of artillery, being formed on their parade near the city, ſaluted with a diſcharge of 13 cannon—the bells were rung, and a joyous concourſe of citizens welcomed, with affectionate ſhouts, the much-reſpected and beloved Mrs. WASHINGTON to Philadelphia.

Mrs. [Robert] MORRIS having met her honored gueſt at Darby (8 miles from town) conducted her to her houſe in Market-Street, where, taking leave of her eſcort, Mrs. Waſhington, in the moſt gracious manner, thanked the troops for their polite attention.

Having fixed her departure for yeſterday morning, the troops paraded, with an intention to eſcort her to Trenton—His Excellency the Preſident of the State, and many gentlemen on horſeback, attending, at ten o'clock the proceſſion moved from Mrs. Morris's houſe, who, in her own carriage, accompanies Mrs. Waſhington to New-York. The weather proving rainy, ſhe requeſted that the troops might return; and they took a reſpectful leave of her a few miles from the city.

During her ſhort ſtay in Philadelphia, the citizens have vied with each other in demonſtrations of reſpectful attachment to this moſt amiable woman.

ARRIVALS AT BOSTON.

Ship Dianna Folgier, in 40 days from St. Jago, left at Iſle of May, Capt. Bentley, of Providence, a brig belonging to Mr. W. Gray, of Salem, and others.

Capt. Magee, from Salem, arrived at St. Jago, March 15, and 21ſt ſailed for Canton. Ship Ceres, Sturges, arrived 16th, and 24th ſailed for Bombay.

NEW-YORK, MAY 30, 1789.

Wedneſday arrived in this city from Mount Vernon, Mrs. WASHINGTON, the amiable conſort of THE PRESIDENT of the United States. Mrs. Waſhington from Philadelphia was accompanied by the Lady of Mr. Robert Morris. At Elizabethtown-point ſhe was met by the THE PRESIDENT, Mr. Morris, and ſeveral other gentlemen of diſtinction, who had gone there for that purpoſe.—She was conducted over the bay in the Preſident's Barge, rowed by 13 eminent pilots, in a handſome white dreſs; on paſſing the Battery a ſalute was fired; and on her landing ſhe was welcomed by crowds of citizens, who had aſſembled to teſtify their joy on this happy occaſion.

The principal ladies of the city have, with the earlieſt attention and reſpect, paid their devoirs to the amiable conſort of our beloved PRESIDENT, viz. The *Lady* of His Excellency the Governor—*Lady Sterling*—*Lady Mary Watts*—*Lady Kitty Duer*—*La Marchioneſs de Brehan*—the *Ladies* of the Moſt Hon. Mr. Langdon, and the Moſt Hon. Mr. Dalton—the *Mayoreſs*—Mrs. *Livingſton*, of Clermont—Mrs. *Chancellor Livingſton*—the Miſs *Livingſtons*—*Lady Temple*—*Madam de la Foreſt*—Mrs. *Montgomery*—Mrs. *Knox*—Mrs. *Thompſon*—Mrs. *Gerry*—Mrs. *Edgar*—Mrs. *M'Comb*—Mrs. *Lynch*—Mrs. *Houſton*—Mrs. *Griffin*—Mrs. *Proveſt*—the Miſs *Bayards*, and a great number of other reſpectable characters.

Although THE PRESIDENT makes no formal invitations, yet the day after the arrival of Mrs. WASHINGTON, the following diſtinguiſhed perſonages dined at his houſe, *en famille*.—Their Excellencies the Vice-Preſident—the Governor of this State—the Miniſters of France and Spain—and the Governor of the Weſtern Territory—the Hon. Secretary of the United States for Foreign Affairs—the Moſt Hon. Mr. *Langdon*, Mr. *Wingate*, Mr. *Izard*, Mr. *Few*, and Mr. *Muhlenburg*, Speaker of the Hon. Houſe of Repreſentatives of the United States.

The PRESIDENT's Levee yeſterday, was attended by a very numerous and moſt reſpectable company—The circumſtance of the PRESIDENT's entering the Drawing Room at 3 o'clock, not being univerſally known, occaſioned ſome inaccurracies as to the time of attendance.

By a gentleman who arrived a few days ſince from Boſton, we are happy to learn, that a favourable diſpoſition prevails towards the proceedings of Congreſs, as far as they had then been communicated. It was a general determination to ſupport the revenue laws and to diſcountenance every ſpecies of fraud or oppoſition againſt the impoſt ſyſtem. This reſolution which was paſſed, (as far as curſory and repeated converſation in which ſentiments were honeſtly expreſſed, and tending to the ſame point, can be called a reſolution) under the full expectation that the impoſt would be laid in a juſt and reaſonable manner; and whatever ſhape it may wear after paſſing both Houſes, they will no doubt be a good diſpoſition in its favour, among the great body of an enlightened people.

We are likewiſe happy in hearing from the ſouthern States, that the minds of the people are accommodating themſelves to the meaſures of the new government, and all denominations of citizens anticipate better times, as they well know nothing contributes ſo eſſentially to make *times good*, as ſuch laws as will encourage induſtry, reward the effects of enterpriſe and genius, and bear teſtimony againſt the idle, the vicious, and extravagant. The good examples that are ſet, by ſome diſtinguiſhed characters, of order, œconomy, and diligence, will produce moſt beneficial effects.

In tracing the hiſtoric page, a thouſand years contract into a very limited compaſs—"We meaſure time by ideas"—And to form ſome competent idea of the exiſtence of States and Empires, we muſt attend to thoſe events which have marked the ſeveral periods of their exiſtence—a long ſeries of ages have rolled over the States and Kingdoms of the Eaſtern Hemiſphere, ſince they were firſt noticed by the pen of hiſtory;—but their tranſactions, their improvements in knowledge, wiſdom, arts and humanity, make no elevated figure in their annals—a ſmooth ſtream of oblivion has rolled over them, from age to age, except when interrupted by that ſouleſt of all imputations upon human nature, WAR—and has left us little to learn from, or to admire.—But the caſe is far otherwiſe with America, every page of the volume of independence unfolds ſome thing new, great and glorious—and there is every reaſon to ſuppoſe, that contraſted with the dark ages of bigotry and enthuſiaſm, if ideas lengthen the period of life, Americans may realize an antediluvian exiſtence.

Extract of a letter from the State of Rhode-Iſland, dated May 23, 1789.

"The enemies of the Federal Government, triumph more than ever in this State, ſince the bill paſſed the Houſe of Repreſentatives of Congreſs, for levying a duty on all foreign merchandiſe, exported from this to any other State. As that bill exempts articles that are the growth and manufacture of this State, from being ſubject to impoſt, it places the farmers who are generally antifederaliſts in juſt ſuch a ſituation as they have wiſhed. They now derive all the benefits that the new government is capable of producing by encouraging the ſale of domeſtic articles; while they are not expoſed to any of its inconveniences.—In addition to this reaſon, they are exceedingly gratified at ſuch a ſtroke levelled againſt the mercantile intereſt. The legiſlature of this State have laid duties ſimilar to what Congreſs impoſe. Our merchants therefore pay duties at home in the firſt inſtance, and afterwards in the State, to which they export ſuch goods. This operates peculiarly hard, and will, I fear, be a means of hindering our majority from conſenting to have a convention called, as they take pleaſure in ſeeing the merchants cruſhed. They ſay they have greater advantages without entering into the union, than they could derive by becoming a member of it. I hope Congreſs will conſider our ſituation and put the different claſſes of people in this State in a predicament equally diſagreeable, by ſubjecting domeſtic articles to a ſimilar impoſition as they do foreign, that are exported from this, to any other State. Such a meaſure would ſoon draw our obſtinate majority into the views of honeſty, and the United States."

ARRIVALS. NEW-YORK.

Wedneſday.	Sloop Amphion, Barry,	Jamaica,	33 days.
Thurſday.	Ship Bell, Boyd,	London,	49 days.
Friday.	Schooner Catharine, Aitken,	Halifax,	10 days.
	Snow Maria, Walkie,	London,	50 days.

LETTER.

The RIGHT GOVERNMENT *of a* COMMONWEALTH EXAMINED.

[*Continued from our laſt.*]

IT happens univerſally, when the people in a body, or by a ſingle repreſentative aſſembly, attempt to exerciſe all the powers of government, they always create three or four idols, who make a bargain with each other firſt, to do nothing which ſhall diſpleaſe any one: Theſe hold this agreement, until one thinks himſelf able to diſembarraſs himſelf of the other two; then they quarrel, and the ſtrongeſt becomes ſingle tyrant. But why is the name of Pompey omitted, who was the third of this triumvirate? Becauſe it would have been too unpopular; it would have too eaſily confuted his argument, and have turned againſt himſelf, to have ſaid that this aſſociation was between Pompey, Cæſar, and Craſſus, againſt Cato, the ſenate, the conſtitution, and liberty, which was the fact. Can you find a people who will never be divided in opinion? who will be always unanimous? The people of Rome were divided, as all other people ever have been and will be, into a variety of parties and factions. Pompey, Craſſus, and Cæſar, at the head of different parties, were jealous of each other: Their diviſions ſtrengthened the ſenate and its friends, and furniſhed means and opportunities of defeating many of their ambitious deſigns. Cæſar perceived it, and paid his court both to Pompey and Craſſus, in order to hinder them from joining the ſenate againſt him. He ſeparately repreſented the advantage which their enemies derived from their miſunderſtandings, and the eaſe with which, if united, they might concert among themſelves all affairs of the republic, gratify every friend, and diſappoint every enemy. The other example, of Auguſtus, Lepidus, and Antony, is equally unfortunate: Both are demonſtrations that the people did think of uſurping others rights, and that they did not mind any way to preſerve their own.—The Senate was now annihilated, many of them murdered: Auguſtus, Lepidus, and Antony, were popular demagogues, who agreed together to fleece the flock between them, until the moſt cunning of the three deſtroyed the other two, fleeced the ſheep alone, and tranſmitted the ſhears to a line of tyrants. How can this writer ſay then, that, "while the government remained untouched in "the people's hands, every particular man lived "ſafe?" The direct contrary is true. Every man lived ſafe, only while the Senate remained as a check and balance to the people; the moment that controul was deſtroyed, no man was ſafe. While the government remained untouched in the various orders, the Conſuls, Senate, and people, mutually balancing each other, it might be ſaid, with ſome truth, that no man could be undone, unleſs a true and ſatisfactory reaſon was rendered to the world for his deſtruction; but as ſoon as the Senate was deſtroyed, and the government came untouched into the people's hands, no man lived ſafe but the Triumvirs and their tools; any man might be, and multitudes of the beſt men were, undone, without rendering any reaſon to the world for their deſtruction, but the will, the fear, or the revenge of ſome tyrant. Theſe popular leaders, in our author's own language, "ſaved "and deſtroyed, depreſſed and advanced, whom "they pleaſed, with a wet finger."

The ſecond argument to prove that the people, in their ſucceſſive ſingle aſſemblies, are the beſt keepers of their own liberties, is, "becauſe it is "ever the people's care to ſee that authority be "ſo conſtituted, that it ſhall be rather a burthen "than profit to thoſe that undertake it; and be "qualified with ſuch ſlender advantages of profit "or pleaſure, that men ſhall reap little by the "enjoyment. The happy conſequence whereof "is this, that none but honeſt, generous, and "public ſpirits, will then deſire to be in authority, and that only for the common good. "Hence it was, that in the infancy of the Roman "liberty there was no canvaſſing for voices; but "ſingle and plain-hearted men were called, intreated, and in a manner forced with importunity to the helm of government, in regard of "that great trouble and pains that followed the "employment. Thus Cincinnatus was fetched "out of the field from his plough, and placed, "much againſt his will, in the ſublime dignity of "Dictator: So the noble Camillus, and Fabius, "and Curius, were, with much ado, drawn from "the recreation of gardening to the trouble of "governing; and the conſul year being over, "they returned with much gladneſs again to "their private employment."

The firſt queſtion which would ariſe in the mind of an intelligent and attentive reader would be, whether this were burleſque, and a republic traveſty? But as the principle of this ſecond reaſon is very pleaſing to a large body of narrow ſpirits in every ſociety, and as it has been adopted by ſome reſpectable authorities, without ſufficient conſideration, it may be proper to give it a ſerious inveſtigation.

The people have, in ſome countries and ſeaſons, made their ſervices irkſome; and it is popular with ſome to make authority a burthen. But what has been the conſequence to the people? Their ſervice has been deſerted, and they have been betrayed. Thoſe very perſons who have flattered the meanneſs of the ſtingy, by offering to ſerve them gratis, and by purchaſing their ſuffrages, have carried the liberties and properties of their conſtituents to market, and ſold them for very handſome private profit to the monarchical and ariſtocratical portions of ſociety: And ſo long as the rule of making their ſervice a burthen is perſiſted in, ſo long will the people be ſerved with the ſame kind of addreſs and fidelity, by hypocritical pretences to diſintereſted benevolence and patriotiſm, until their confidence is gained, their affections ſecured, and their enthuſiaſm excited, and by knaviſh bargains and ſales of their cauſe and intereſt afterwards. But although there is always among the people a party who are juſtly chargeable with meanneſs and avarice, envy and ingratitude, and this party has ſometimes been a majority, who have literally made their ſervice burthenſome, yet this is not the general character of the people; a more univerſal fault is, too much affection, confidence, and gratitude, not to ſuch as really ſerve them, whether with or againſt their inclinations, but to thoſe who flatter their inclinations, and gain their hearts. Honeſt and generous ſpirits will diſdain to deceive the people; and if the public ſervice is wilfully rendered burthenſome, they will really be averſe to be in it: but hypocrites enough will be found, who will pretend to be alſo loath to ſerve, and feign a reluctant conſent for the public good, while they mean to plunder in every way they can conceal. There are conjunctures when it is the duty of a good citizen to hazard and ſacrifice all for his country: but, in ordinary times, it is equally the duty and intereſt of the community not to ſuffer it. Every wiſe and free people, like the Romans, will eſtabliſh the maxim, to ſuffer no generous action for the public to go unrewarded. Can our author be ſuppoſed to be ſincere, in recommending it as a principle of policy to any nation to render her ſervice in the army, navy, or in council, a burthen, an unpleaſant employment to all her citizens? Would he depend upon finding human ſpirits enough to fill public offices, who would be ſufficiently elevated in patriotiſm and general benevolence to ſacrifice their eaſe, health, time, parents, wives, children, and every comfort, convenience, and elegance of life, for the public good? Is there any religion or morality that requires this? Which permits the many to live in affluence and eaſe, while it obliges a few to live in miſery for their ſakes? The people are fond of calling public men their ſervants, and ſome are not able to conceive them to be ſervants, without making them ſlaves, and treating them as planters treat their negroes:—But, good maſters, have a care how you uſe your power; you may be tyrants as well as public officers. It ſeems, according to our author himſelf, that honeſty and generoſity of ſpirit, and the paſſion for the public good, were not motives ſtrong enough to induce his heroes to deſire to be in public life; they muſt be called, intreated, and forced. By ſingle and plain-hearted men, he means the ſame, no doubt, with thoſe deſcribed by the other expreſſions, honeſt, generous, and public ſpirits. Cincinnatus, Camillus, Fabius, and Curius, were men as ſimple and as generous as any; and theſe all, by his own account, had a ſtrong averſion to the public ſervice. Either theſe great characters muſt be ſuppoſed to have practiſed the *Nolo Epiſcopari*, to have held up a fictitious averſion for what they really deſired, or we muſt allow their reluctance to have been ſincere. If counterfeit, theſe examples do not deſerve our imitation; if ſincere, they will never be followed by men enough to carry on the buſineſs of the world. The glory of theſe Roman characters cannot be obſcured, nor ought the admiration of their ſublime virtues to be diminiſhed; but ſuch examples are as rare among ſtateſmen, as Homers and Miltons among poets. A free people of common ſenſe will not depend upon finding a ſufficient number of ſuch characters at any one time, but leſs a ſucceſſion of them for any long duration, for the ſupport of their liberties. To make a law, that armies ſhould be led, Senates counſelled, negociations conducted, by none but ſuch characters, would be to decree that the buſineſs of the world ſhould come to a full ſtand: And it muſt have ſtood as ſtill in thoſe periods of the Roman hiſtory as at this hour; for ſuch characters were nearly as ſcarce then as they are now. The parallels of Lyſander, Pericles, Themiſtocles, and Cæſar, are much eaſier to find in hiſtory, than thoſe of Camillus, Fabius, and Curius. If the latter were with much difficulty drawn from their gardens to government, and returned with pleaſure at the end of the conſular year to their rural amuſements; the former are as ardent to continue in the public ſervice, and if the public will not legally reward them, they plunder the public to reward themſelves. The father of Themiſtocles had more averſion to public life than Cincinnatus; and, to moderate the propenſity of his ſon, who ardently aſpired to the higheſt offices of the ſtate, pointed to the old gallies rolling in the docks—"There," ſays he, "ſee the "old ſtateſmen, worn out in the ſervice of their "country, thus always neglected when no longer "of uſe!" Yet the ſon's ardour was not abated, though he was not one of thoſe honeſt ſpirits that aimed only at the public good. Pericles too, though his fortune was ſmall, and the honeſt emoluments of his office very moderate, diſcovered no ſuch averſion to the ſervice; on the contrary, he entered into an emulation in prodigality with Cimon, who was rich, in order equally to dazzle the eyes of the multitude. To make himſelf the ſoul of the republic, and maſter of the affections of the populace, to enable them to attend the public aſſemblies and theatrical repreſentations for his purpoſes, he laviſhed his donations: Yet he was ſo far from being honeſt and generous, and aiming ſolely at the public good, that he availed himſelf of the riches of the ſtate to ſupply his extravagance of expence, and made it an invariable maxim to ſacrifice every thing to his own ambition. When the public finances were exhauſted, to avoid accounting for the public money, he involved his country in a war with Sparta.

(*To be continued.*)

BOSTON, May 20, 1789. Agreeably to an order of the Hon. Secretary at War, Mr. Joſeph Callender has juſt finiſhed the Inſcription ordered by Congreſs to be engraved on the TWO CANNON, which conſtituted one moiety of the American Artillery, at the commencement of the late war. The inſcription is finely executed in relievo—as follows.

The HANCOCK, one—The ADAMS, the other.
SACRED TO LIBERTY.
This is one of Four Cannon,
Which conſtituted the whole train
of *Field Artillery*
poſſeſſed by the *Britiſh Colonies of North-America*,
at the commencement of the
War,
on the 19th of April, M,DCC,LXXV.
This CANNON
and its fellow,
belonging to a number of citizens of Boſton,
were uſed in many engagements
during the war.
The other two, the property of the
Government of Maſſachuſetts,
were taken by the enemy.

By order of the United States,
In Congreſs aſſembled.
May 19, 1788.

NATIONAL MONITOR.——No. VI.

"Government is ſo far the reſult of a free choice, as the people are led to its adoption from ſentiment."

IT is a trite, though true obſervation, that "good education is the "foundation of all human happineſs:" *This is ſo univerſally acknowledged in private life, that the conduct of the enlightened part of mankind may be conſidered as a comment upon the conviction of its importance;—hence the common obſervation, that good education is the beſt fortune—hence the extreme ſolicitude of parents to ſtrain every nerve, that they may extend the plan of their children's improvements in ſcience—that they may enjoy advantages which their ſires feel the want of—hence alſo the rapid progreſs that has been made in improving upon ancient modes of inſtruction—opening new avenues to knowledge, and expanding our views in thoſe walks that had been familiar to us. It appears from theſe ſpecimens, that under the auſpices of peace, freedom, and good government, there is every reaſon to ſuppoſe that the great importance of education will continually appreciate in the minds of our citizens—and that in this reſpect,* "the wilderneſs will ere long be made "to bloſſom like the roſe:" *Already do we behold* Science *courting the ſons of America to the retirements of rural life; Seminaries of Learning ariſing in thoſe retreats, late the haunts of ſavage men, wild and untutored as their fellow-tenants of the woods.*

This deeply impreſſed ſenſe of the importance of education, may, and doubtleſs will, operate moſt powerfully and effectually, in producing the neceſſary proviſion for common education—as it will come in to aid thoſe neceſſary arrangements, which muſt be made by the fathers, the magiſtrates, the ruling powers of villages, towns, and cities, to effect this important object.

But this ſentiment, it cannot be ſuppoſed, will extend its benign influence ſo far, as to ſupercede the neceſſity of Congreſſional *interference in a ſubject of ſo great magnitude, as NATIONAL INSTITUTIONS for a NATIONAL EDUCATION.*

This is doubtleſs a deſideratum, that the wiſe and philanthropic part of mankind will exult to ſee realized—public ſeminaries, in which national, governmental, *and* patriotic *inſtruction ſhall form the great outlines of the ſyſtem.*

From ſuch a centre, thoſe rays of knowledge may diverge in every poſſible direction, which will be productive of the moſt ſalutary conſequences; for it requires nothing more than a feeling ſenſe of the importance of freedom *and* civil government, *founded on a competent underſtanding of their principles and intrinſic excellencies, to engage the beſt affections of the human mind in their ſupport; but the foundation of an univerſal attachment to right principles, whether of a public or a private nature, muſt be laid in youth.* C.

THE PRESIDENT's HOUSEHOLD.

WHEREAS, all Servants and others, employed to procure proviſions, or ſupplies, for the Houſehold, of THE PRESIDENT of the UNITED STATES, will be furniſhed with monies for thoſe purpoſes. Notice is therefore given, That no accounts, for the payment of which the Public might be conſidered as reſponſible, are to be opened with any of them.

SAMUEL FRAUNCES, Steward of the Houſehold.

MAY 4th, 1789.

☞ *SUBSCRIPTIONS for the "COURIER DE BOSTON," a new weekly paper, publiſhed at Boſton in the French Language, are received at No. 9, Maiden Lane.* [The utility of a paper in this almoſt univerſal language need not be hinted to thoſe, who wiſh to acquire the French tongue.]

☞ *Complete ſetts from the beginning, of the GAZETTE OF THE UNITED STATES, may at any time be obtained by thoſe who chuſe to ſubſcribe for that publication, at the Editor's Office, No. 9, Maiden-Lane.*

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